8. Dr. A. R. Menon.
9. Sreemati Madhavi Amma.
10. Mr. E. Ikkanda Wariar.
11. Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.

Besides the Law Member and the Mover.

മിസ്റ്റർ കപ്പിങ്ങാട്ട് ശങ്കരൻ നമ്പൂതിരി.—സിലക്ററ് കമ്മിററി റിപ്പോർട്ട് സമാസത്തിനകം സമർപ്പിക്കണമെന്ന് ഞാൻ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുന്നു,

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I second the motion.

The question of the submission within 6 months of the report of the Select Committee for the Nambudiri Kudumba Bill was put to votes and agreed to.

President.—Under Standing Order 33, clause (3), I name Mr. Kochunni Menon as President of the Committee.

Resolutions on Matters of General Public Interest.

President.—The next item is the resolution standing in the name of Mr. K. T. Mathew, and it relates to general unemployment in the State.

The Appointment of an Unemployment Committee.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.— Sir, I rise to move the following resolution:—

"*That this Council recommends to the Government to appoint a Committee, consisting of non-officials to investigate the problem of general unemployment in the State, to take evidence of witnesses and to report to Gevernment six months from this date, suggesting inter alia, remedial measures for, as far as possible, solving the problem.*"

After the last war, the world has talked of unemployment so much, that there is a man hardly in Europe and America who has not heard of unemployment or given his ideas regarding its causes. The question of unemployment in England has been, for some years past, an important plank in all electioneering fights. A million and odd people out of 40 millions were in a state of unemployment there. Government in England had been taking many steps to meet this problem. Coal miners were given subsidy in order to help them to retain their employees.

This world condition might have contributed in its own way to the present state of unemployment in India. But the world-wide depression in trade is not the main cause of unemployment in our State. The present system of education has largely been the cause for bringing about the present state.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

The existing system of education makes men fond of desk work, and takes the spirit of adventure out of them. What we want is an education which will broaden the outlook of men, make them look upon settle-downess with disgust, and give them capacity and a stout heart. The unemployment problem in our State should be counted as the main cause for the fall in the number of Lower Secondary School pupils. *The Administration Report of 1100* shows that the total strength of Lower Secondary pupils was 8,733 only in 1100 as against 8,958 in 1099. There was a fall of 225 pupils. The Diwan says in his Report that "this may perhaps be due to the gradual awakening in the public mind that a purely literary education is, after all, not a sure means to secure profitable careers." The training and education that they have received is such that it does not qualify them for any work requiring technical knowledge.

Our country is an agricultural country, but the present system of education has not been recognising the importance of agricultural training, and as a result of this, once a son of a farmer receives some education, he never cares to come back to his father's farm, although there is hardly any room for him elsewhere. His manners and habits are changed entirely, and his standard of living rises. This renders him unfit for carrying on the agricultural pursuit of his father. He seeks service and is obliged in the end to accept a post—if, after all, he succeeds to get one—of a clerical nature. Sir Rajendranath Mukerji, speaking on the problem of middle class unemployment, says:—

"The educational opportunities so far open to them have been along one dead, uniform line. Very little effort has hitherto been made to place vocational or industrial training within easy reach of the poor middle classes. The multiplication of clerks, therefore, goes on apace and poverty, more severe in its incidence than in its area, at present stares them in the face."

I may also cite here what a well-known Madras economist says on the subject:—

"Secondary education should aim to train the hand as well as the mind. The purely literary bias of the present curriculam should be given up. It is not necessary except in special cases to provide vocational training in special schools. Every school should have a pretty, extensive, cultivable land of its own where the pupils and the teachers might co-operate to cultivate the field, and engage themselves in such kinds of work as are required to make them a more or less self sufficing colony. The present generation of our students in English schools and

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Colleges has not been brought up in the idea that the manual work is not "genteel" and to get themselves employed in the service of the Government, if possible, is to be preferred for a living on one's own account. In the peculiar circumstances of India, even in the case of University education, boys should be taken through a course of practical training in Agriculture and Handicrafts along with their literary and intellectual education. Our boys will not any be the worse for it from an intellectual point of view. The time and energy that are now being devoted for athletic sports can be more usefully diverted to Agriculture or Handicrafts. The free exercise of the limbs and the cultivation of group instincts, discipline, etc., which we suppose that the sports are likely to help, can equally be supported by co-operative farming or gardening and working up of some manufactures. In a country like England which is predominently urban, industrial and rich, a certain number of young men can afford to have the luxury of a life independent of manual labour but not in India."

There is the unanimous opinion among our leaders that there should be a change in the present system of education. It should be changed in such a way as to give a technical and vocational bias to it.

The number of unemployed young men among the educated middle classes is steadily increasing. The nmber has so increased that it is not possible for Government to find employment for them in Government service. In answer to questions (2) and (3) of the 7th December, it is said that during the years 1098, 1099 and 1100, the Government received 2,432 applications for employment, and out of these only 585 were appointed, either permanently or temporarily. This shows that Government service could not be a real remedy to the problem of unemployment in our State. Posts in Government service are limited and cannot be increased with a view to provide employment to all the unemployed in the State. All posts in Government service are now filled up, and we know that there are not many posts to be created. Our State is a small one, and, vacancies in Government service are not likely to occur very often, and even if they occur, educated young men living in villages do not get time or opportunity to apply for them. Government service does not, therefore, provide a remedy for the problem of unemployment.

It may be admitted that the present difficulty of unemployment is caused to a very large extent by the attitude of the educated young men, who look down upon certain professions.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

The prejudice against certain types of work exists in our State as elsewhere in India. A false prestige is attached to certain occupations. A skilled carpenter or a goldsmith may earn more than a clerk or a schoolmaster. Yet a clerk or a master is a more respected person. This difference in popular estimation is responsible for the fact that many of our young men have given up the so called lowly occupation, and have taken to the more "respectable" professions. No profession is mean which brings to the labourer an adequate return through honest work. To relieve the congestion in the employment of the middle classes, it is necessary that the lowlier occupations which at one time were held by our people must again be attended to. The present mentality of the people can be changed by propaganda work, by promoting industrial development along right lines, and by encouraging indigenous industries. People should be made to understand that it is not always advisible to renounce the callings of their parents and send their sons out in search of professions falsely conceived to be more honourable and dignified. This cannot be achieved in a day or two.

The development of industries is an absolute necessity in our country. The advantages of industrial development are undisputed. The Fiscal Commission appointed by the Government of India, after a careful investigation came to the conclusion that a development of industries "would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole, creating new sources of health, encouraging the accumulation of capital, enlarging the public revenues of, providing more profitable employment of labour, reducing the excessive dependence of the country on the unstable profits of agriculture". It is pointed out by our leaders that no scheme for the solution of the problem of unemployment can be complete which does not include some provision for giving an impetus to the industrious development of the country. The Hon'ble K. C. Roy, Member, Council of State, recently remarked about the problem of unemployment thus :—

"Herein lay the problem of the hour both for the Government and the legislators. That thousands of men are being turned out every year.....without any prospect of employment, will mean the creation of an army of young discontended educated men. They will be a danger to society. Their energies should be diverted to fruitful channels. The remedy is not merely the cry back to the land but the promotion of industrial pursuits".

Opinion is almost unanimous on the matter that, for solving the problem of unemployment properly and in an effective

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

manner, new channels of employment should be created by starting new industries in the State. I admit that some industries on a large scale were tried in our State, but unfortunately, did not prove quite successful. I am not now pleading for the opening of large industries. My contention is that old cottage industries should be resuscitated.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that there are many cultivators who do not find enough work to engage themselves throughout the year. Agricultural labourers have got work for some months in the year, and are in a state of chronic poverty for the rest of the months. Some of these supplement their income by additional work in industries or in other ways. There are, however, very many who are not able to secure any means whereby they can add a little to their income. An enquiry should be made as to whether it is possible to introduce small home industries which would enable them to increase their earnings. One home industry will not be suitable to all taluks alike, and an enquiry, therefore, is necessary.

With much regret, I may state here that cottage industries are not very much encouraged by our Government. What the foreign Government in our country was doing to root out indigenous industries was pointed out the other day by the Hon'ble Member who moved the resolution for introducing compulsory hand-spinning in our schools. I do not say that our Government has cut off hands and fingers with a view to destroy our cottage industries, but let me point out that sufficient encouragement has not been given by our Government to the promotion of indigenous industries.

Let me take, for instance, jaggery industry. It is a painful duty to state that our Government is handicapping this industry. I have tabled a resolution on this matter, and so it is not necessary to linger long on the subject here. The matter will be dealt with exhaustively when the opportunity comes. But let me again say that cottage industries should be given adequate encouragement, and it will relieve to a large extent the unemployment among our agricultural labourers.

We have now the harbour scheme before us. This will provide employment for a large number of our young men. It should be the endeavour of our Government and the representatives of the Government on the Harbour Committee to secure the due share of appointments to Cochinites. We have entered into partnership with powers stronger than ourselves, and because of this, we have to take particular care to get our claims duly recognised.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

In Travancore strenuous efforts are now being made for linking every part of the State by a net-work of Railways. This will greatly help to solve the problem of unemployment. The Diwan of Travancore, at the recent session of the Travancore Popular Assembly, spoke in these words:—

"A variety of reasons has led to the unemployment problem being inextricably mixed up with the educational question. I am not surprised. As the administration of the State became more highly organised and more complex from year to year, the need for public servants in many capacities grew rapidly. University Degrees and School Certificates became the only means of testing fitness for Government employment, and the whole current of our youth set towards the institutions where such qualifications could be procured. Hence our swollen Colleges, our multiplicity of schools. Hence this spectre of unemployment. There is no getting away from the fact that the Government are the largest employers of educated labour in Travancore. In so far as there are Government posts available the Government will continue to distribute them, and will continue to afford equality of opportunity to every son of the soil."

Travancore is already blessed with cheap water communications and if to this Railway facilities are also added, Travancore will become doubly blessed, and be in the best position possible to reap the benefits resulting from the Harbour. This is the time for our State also to take steps for connecting the various parts of the State by water and Railway communications. People in my constituency and neighbouring villages have already requested the Government to extend a Railway line to those parts. The usefulness of Railway and water communications is undisputed. Like the Travancore Government, our Government also should undertake to open such facilities for the development of trade and commerce; or else we will only become the paying partner in the Harbour scheme. Our Government should, therefore, now put forth all its available resources for creating facilities for the development of trade and industries in the State. This will help to solve the problem of unemployment.

It has already been remarked that unemployment has become an acute problem in our State as elsewhere. In British India, Committees are being appointed to investigate the problem of unemployment. In Bengal an Unemployment Committee has already been appointed, and this committee has been specifically asked to "investigate the problem among the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

educated middle classes in Bengal and to suggest remedial measures". On the motion of Mr. C. Gopala Menon, the Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending that a committee should be appointed to investigate the problem of general unemployment and to report to the Government adequate measures for combating this problem. This resolution has been accepted by the Government, and a committee has been appointed. The question of unemployment has not escaped the attention of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council. It was only the other day that that august assembly passed a resolution for the appointment of a committee to investigate and report on the unemployment problem. A few days back, the Assam Legislative Council passed a resolution for the formation of an Unemployment Committee.

I may submit that the distress caused by unemployment among the educated young men in the State is assuming, if it has not already assumed, serious proportions, and it is, therefore, an imperative necessity that immediate steps should be taken to put an end to the present deplorable situation. Efforts should be made to provide fresh openings for those who are willing to work, but cannot find work. Further, measures should be adopted to prevent, as far as possible, future unemployment.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—Sir, I second the resolution.

Mr. C. Matthai.—Sir, as many of the remarks made by the mover of the resolution referred to the question on Education, I may be permitted to make a few remarks. As observed by the mover, the problem of unemployment has become almost a universal problem. It may be no consolation to us that the trouble is so widespread. Even in countries outside India, the attention of the public is concentrated upon this vital problem. It is so in nearly every Indian Province. We are, perhaps, not so badly off as other Provinces in India. When we speak of unemployment, we have to consider the unemployment of the educated classes and the unemployment of the illiterate masses. Well, it is usual to classify like that—the higher educated classes and the illiterate masses; but so far as we are concerned, I do not think a very large proportion of the masses are illiterate. We are hoping to reach a time when our masses would be literate but that would not solve the problem of unemployment. Taking first the remarks of the mover he referred mostly to the unemployment problem as it affected the educated classes, but as far as I can understand, I think the situation is much more distressing among the masses than it is among the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

educated classes. But we hear a great deal more of the latter, simply for this reason that the educated man is a more vociferous individual than the silent labourer. But if we really looked into the facts we shall find it is more serious in the case of the masses. Confining my remarks for the time being to the facts put forth by the mover, as far as the educated classes are concerned, as I said, the situation is not so very bad. As the mover has pointed out, there are committees formed in every Province in India. Bengal started, Madras followed, the Central Legislative Assembly took up the question, and last week we heard about what was done in Assam. So we have got these committees nearly everywhere in India. Well, it is not so acute here, as it is in Calcutta. In Bengal they have got such a large number of Colleges and such other institutions. You will be amazed at the number of young men who attend these institutions. Again, Calcutta has adopted a liberal policy in the matter of passing the candidates who appear for their various examinations. I remember a humorous remark made about Calcutta, that it was very difficult to get a third class there, because the University, if at all possible, gives a first class or a second class to the examinee. When you take the published results you will find sometimes that two-thirds have got into the first class, so that there is only one-third remaining for the second and the third classes together. In South India the complaint is often heard that our University is given to the slaughtering of the innocents. We are said to be very severe, but this slaughter is not without its compensation. The result is, that the South Indian Graduate is valued very much more than a Graduate of the Calcutta University or of any other part of India. So it is not very difficult for them to get employment in other Provinces. As I had occasion to observe once before, during the budget discussions, we find such a large number of our educated young men trained in our University, getting suitable employment in very distant parts of the world; for instance, as I said, our Cochin men are found in nearly every Province in India, in Burma, Ceylon, in South Africa, East Africa, Mesopotomia and such other countries. I remember a remark made in connection with a certain English family prominent in British politics, that the more the British Empire expanded, the more did that particular family contract, in the sense of undertaking contracts and getting rich. So far as Cochin is concerned, it may be said that the more the Empire expands, the wider grows the vision and the field of work for our youngmen. In the wake of the conquests of the Empire, our young men, by pursuing peaceful penetra-

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

tion, go and find jobs somewhere. I do not say that we should encourage this, nor that this is the best of solutions. Recently, we heard a good deal about the evil results of imparting education in English. We have heard it said that education i.e., higher education should be imparted in our mother tongue, Malayalam; and when discussing that question, we found there was much to be said in favour of it. But at the same time we have to look at the other side of the question. If our young men get employment in other parts of the world, it is to a certain extent due to the fact that the standard of knowledge of our young men is higher than of those turned out by other Universities; especially, as regards knowledge of English, it is admitted that our graduate is superior to any produced in other parts of India, and, therefore, we are ahead of other Provinces in Education. That is a very useful fact, which helps our young men to find suitable employment. So it would be unwise on our part to go in for any precipitate change, so far as our system of education is concerned.

As I said, it is our duty to provide suitable employment for our young men. There was a time when the Government could entertain all the educated young men of the country in Government Offices. But we have come to a stage, when it is not possible for Government to do that any more. This system of education originated in this way. The Government found it necessary to get young men trained in such a way as to fit them for Government Offices, for clerical and administrative purposes. And it was with that view the present system of education was devised, and the result, as we now find, is that that field of activity is almost filled up, and therefore, we have to find suitable fields in other ways for our young men. Well, it is a very difficult problem, as the mover has said. We have to consider every aspect of it, and try to find a solution for it.

I think, to provide adequate employment for the masses is perhaps a much more difficult problem. It is much more difficult and intricate than the question of providing employment for the educated classes. The mover said that very little was being done by our State for adjusting the system of education that we impart to the requirements of the country. I thnik he was overstating the case. As I stated on another occasion, we have been trying to do something in this direction in recent years, and I think we have made a definite effort to bring about this adjustment. We are now trying to introduce a system of education which will fit in with the economic conditions of the country.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

The employment of the masses is an intricate problem. Well, there is first the question of the productivity of the land to be considered. The population of the country is increasing, but we cannot say the productivity of our land is increasing proportionately. Then, as regards the larger portion of our population, they are agricultural. They find work only during certain seasons, and the development of cottage industries about which the mover made mention is a very important question. It is much more vital to the well being of our country than the promotion of industrialism. We have got various forms of raw-products. For the purpose of promoting cottage industries these products can be utilised.

Therefore, all these important matters must be gone into and investigated before a satisfactory solution can be arrived at. The Government propose appointing a committee, in connection with the economic development of the State, and that committee will go into these questions and investigate them from all aspects with a view to find a satisfactory solution.

Mr. A. B. Salem—Is the Hon'ble Member for Education opposing or supporting the motion ?

Mr. C. Mattahi.—I support it.

President.—You refer to the Economic Development Committee ?

Mr. C. Matthai.—We are going to appoint an Economic Development Committee. It will very shortly be appointed. I mean Government have already made it known that a committee is going to be formed.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I don't know.

Mr. C. Matthai.—It was notified in the Gazette that an Economic Development Committee would be formed ; and the question of unemployment will be very carefully considered by that Committee. Steps are being taken for that.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Then why not you accept this resolution? Unemployment will be only one of the problems—very difficult one to find out a solution.

President.—The Committee that we appoint will sit for a long time. That is the present idea, and it will consider all the problems of economic development and this will be one of the problems.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—What we want is only an enquiry into this matter whether, it be an Economic Development Committee or any other committee. We do not care about the name.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I think a rolling committee like tha will not be of much use. What we want is to tackle this problem with all earnestness. We have had an Economic survey in the State in the past. Mr. Achyuta Menon, I believe, was deputed by the Government for that purpose, and his elaborate report had already been drafted along with census.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Mr. Achyuta Menon or Mr. Govinda Menon ?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Mr. Achyuta Menon also was deputed. Mr. Achyuta Menon also conducted an Industrial Survey. If I am wrong, I may be corrected.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—As Census Superintendent he conducted an Economic Survey.

President.—It shared the same fate as the Kole Committee Report.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—And it is a standing joke outside that if the Government does not want a thing to be done, they at once appoint a committee to do the thing. It should not be said that even the non-official members wanted to do the same thing. We also want a committee. I hope that stage has not come. Here we are coming forward with a request as we are not Government Officers and we are not in service. Our pay is not assured like that of the Government Officers. We are coming forward to do our best for the advancement of the welfare of our people.

President.—Quite so.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—That is the spirit that actuates us. Let us survey. We have been suffering from political depression. I shall explain what I mean by political depression. I may even tell you that all our education has been based upon the policy of political depression, namely, if the Hon'ble Member for Education would look to Mr. Macaulay's minute on the educational system, he will find in the preamble that this educational system was introduced in India, amidst other things for the purpose of manufacturing clerks for the country.

Mr. C. Matthai.—I mentioned that just now.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I am very glad, and that part of your function you have done very well, and I repeat it for the sake of emphasis. You have got numerous clerks. We do not know what to do away with these clerks. Let us see what this political development comes to. It is seen, Sir, that so many avenues of employment have been shut against us. We have no consular appointment or consular work. We have no trade or

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

commercial organisation to push our raw materials. That is the only way in which agricultural prosperity can be improved. That means we are losing a great portion of our profits. We lose much by not having agents in the world outside. We have no such agency to give us information to place our produce in the best market. That is a serious defect, and if this defect is not removed by the Economic Development Board or any other committee, we will not find these avenues of employment open to our people. Again, Sir, we have no army or navy, or ship-building yard or naval force, monopoly of arms or ammunition. So all these avenues are shut against us. What is the use of giving education at the expense of the tax-payer? I think the time is come when the Government should change their educational policy altogether. I may say, Sir, that the time has come when we should abolish giving higher education altogether. (*Hear, hear.*) We ask the Government to confine its attention to giving primary education alone. Those who wish to go for higher education may do so. I think there is no use of our continuing the system of manufacturing clerks.

President.—You want to abolish all the High schools?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I would certainly say so. There was a time when we were bound to give higher education, and that time we have passed through. Let us entrust these to private agencies who are quite willing to undertake them. In other parts also, Government undertakes only to give elementary education to its people. If others want to go for higher education, let them do so. Then only, we will be able to find a solution for this unemployment problem.

Mr. C. Matthai.—May I draw the attention of the Government to what is being done in England in this direction? There a great deal more is done in the matter of Secondary education than in India. There Secondary education is in fact the accepted ideal now, and it is to be free.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—But that is controlled by Local Boards.

Mr. C. Matthai.—I mean Local Boards under the Board of Education. Of course, there are the agencies, and even as regards the Universities, they are given big amounts by way of grants. In the case of rich Universities also, this is the case. If the Government is in a position to advance funds, they give enormous grants to the universities. There is hardly one university which does not get grants. Rich universities also get substantial grants from the Government, so that to say that the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

revenue is merely spent on Secondary education uselessly is not at all true.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Then I said that, I only meant that there is no necessity for the Government to give higher education, and there is this fact to which I draw attention. There is a great deal of exaggeration that the major portion of the amount of revenue is being spent on Secondary education. I may impress upon the House that, out of the 14 lakhs of the amount spent on education, more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of it is spent on Secondary education alone.

Mr. C. Matthai.—No, Sir. More than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the amount is spent on Elementary education and not on Secondary education. I may further add that this remark that is repeated in this House that, out of the 14 lakhs, more than $\frac{2}{3}$ is being spent on Secondary education, is due to ignorance of facts.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I am very sorry that the Hon'ble Member has misunderstood me. I am not making any apportionment of the Education budget or anything of that sort. What I say is that it is time for the Government to revise their educational policy. It is high time for us to consider the desirability or otherwise of manufacturing clerks any more. That is all what I wish to impress upon the House. Let us revise our educational policy.

President.—What are we to do? Let private agencies come forward. We shall give them grants and encourage them in every way.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—If the Government revises its own educational policy, and lays down a new policy, then I am sure there will be a way by which we can tackle with the problem of unemployment. Naturally, private agencies will follow. That is all what I have to submit.

President.—Are we to refuse grants?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I only suggest a revision of the educational policy. That alone can help us in tackling with this problem.

Mr. C. Matthai.—Is not the Hon'ble Member aware of the fact that we look to the importance of the problem and we are trying to make small beginnings? We are trying to make a division of the nature and character of our education. Mere literary education is not our ideal. We are introducing many practical subjects in the schools with a view to give a practical bent of mind to our young men.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I am very glad that I am not one with the Hon'ble Member for Education, when he says that the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Government is trying to give a practical turn of mind to the children. Let us see to what direction their activities are directed.

Now there are several avenues in which our attention might be well directed—carpentry, book-binding, electrical training, industrial Engineering and training in other directions. As for industrial development, I may say that we should not loose sight of the fact that spinning is the only way in which salvation lies, and by which this unemployment problem can be solved. It is said that in olden days there was no famine, no difficulty, no unemployment problem. When spinning was done away with the unemployment problem began to rise. We have already mentioned the fact that spinning is one of the best methods of redeeming unemployment; for the cultivator particularly, who has a large portion of his time lying heavy on his hands. This should be introduced wherever it is possible. Let them spin. I say that the method of making profit in this manner is lost to our people. The co-operative method of handling products is not known or practised. That is not met with sufficient encouragement. Sufficient encouragement has not been given to it by the Co-operative De partment of our State.

Again, Sir, the development of transport has not been receiving adequate attention at the hands of the Government. Here we have got a Railway—the Shoranur Cochin Railway owned and financed by our State. Yet we see that we have not got indigenous agents to carry the goods accross the backwaters. There is an enormous volume of money to be made. There is an enormous drain—continuous drain there. We have a chance of getting profits there and by which employment can be given. Many of our young men can be usefully employed. This is one of the channels into which private enterprise, with a little encouragement from the Government, can well develop. I hope, Sir, that it will receive your serious attention, and if you go into it, you will find there are many details which I would not like to state here.

We find from different reports, from the papers, that many have been trying without success to get a number of people employed in the higher spheres of the Harbour scheme. Many resolutions have been brought in the Harbour Committee. Sir, unless we get an equal voice which has been originally contracted for by Cochin, I am afraid that this Harbour will consume more of our money and make us loosers of our share of employment. I wish, Sir, that this will also receive your earnest attention, although we are forbidden to enter on these grounds.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

I hope, our Diwan, who is our kith and kin, will leave no stone unturned in the development of that part of the activities of Cochin.

Again, Sir, we have committees appointed to deal with many problems, and when such is the state, we ask whether there will be any harm in accepting an Unemployment Committee, giving it its own terms of reference, and then there will be no difficulty.

President.—You want a committee apart from the Economic Development Committee.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—There is absolutely no difficulty for the Government in accepting this resolution. I hope this aspect of the question will also be considered, and with these few words, I support the resolution.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Sir, I rise to oppose this motion for the appointment of a committee. The question involved is one that can hardly be solved by committees, and as such, the public money spent upon it will be an unjustifiable expenditure. The public may legitimately complain against it; and I don't want to lay myself open to the charge of supporting such wasteful expenditure of public funds.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Are the committees paid?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—I came to know about that only this afternoon.

Mr. C. Matthai.—They are being paid only travelling allowance.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—That is what I mean.

Now, if you appoint 10 or 15 committees like this, it will come to a good round sum; and I do not think we are justified so far as the expenses are concerned, in doing something which will increase the burden of the public. But, as I said, if the Government is satisfied that any useful purpose will be served by the appointment of such committees, I have no objection to give my support to it. But I beg to submit, once again, that the committee will not be able to solve these problems. There is no use of talking vaguely on the subject, as the Hon'ble Member for Education has done. There is South Africa and other countries, he said, where our educated men will be received with open arms. I would challenge the Hon'ble Member's statement. We do not want such vague statements which will not stand a moment's examination.

Mr. C. Matthai.—I am only referring to facts. I speak from personal experience.

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Dr. A. R. Menon.—Suppose these unemployed people come to you; will you please be able to direct to any place where they are received with open arms? Perhaps there may be vacancies in all these places, but all these places are closed to them. Only places which are unfit for human beings to live in are open to them! And even when such places are rendered habitable by their exertions, they are kicked out, bag and baggage, the moment they are of no further use! It is a pity that the Hon'ble Member for Education should mention such places! Wherever young and energetic men may go to seek employment, they will be treated as undesirable aliens so long as we are slaves in our own land. I am not one of those who join in condemning the present system of education and attribute all the miseries to the present system. Whatever may be the system of education that obtains in this country, so long as we are situated as we are today, politically and economically, you will never be able to solve the problem of unemployment to any appreciable extent for years and years to come. The Director of Public Instruction says there is greater misery among the working classes than among the middle and professional classes. I accept that statement *in toto*. He further suggested that the educated people have got their vocal organ, and as long as they know how to use their vocal organs, it is easy for them to get themselves employed. It is a mistake to think that the educated classes are raising their voice for themselves; they are really speaking for the masses. I ask the Government, I challenge every Government Officer to say honestly whether they have devoted one minute or day to improve the condition of the masses. You cannot say you have. All that you care is to see that the machinery of Government is properly oiled so as to collect taxes and follow the old method of Government in a very efficient manner. No doubt, imagination is never a particularly striking quality of any Government, and I regret to say that in your case it is entirely absent. (*Hear, hear.*) So, what the educated classes complain is that the Government is not tackling this question; it is not dealing with this question in a proper spirit. We do not want Government's support. But we do certainly protest against the Government putting obstacles in the way of their earning an honest living under the pretence of safe-guarding their supposed vested rights You are defying public opinion and sacrificing public interests for promoting the selfish interests of the official classes. We will fight against this, and it will be a fight to the finish. So much for the educated classes.

Now, I come to the masses. Sir, this question will not be solved by simply talking. 90 per cent of our population are

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agriculturists. Our main attention must be devoted towards the improvement of agriculture. Industries would never thrive in this country or, for the matter of that, in any country in India, under existing conditions. We must know certain principles of Political Economy. One of its elementary principles is that no Government can succeed in establishing industries unless they build markets. Again, all nascent industries require to be protected by a long tariff wall against the inroads of competing foreigners. You can't do these things, because you have neither political nor economic independence. Hence industry, on a large scale, will not succeed here.

Mr. C. Matthai.—Japan succeeded in industries.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—But the industries of Japan are protected by the Government. In addition to this, you may be surprised to know that they are even subsidised. If the Government did not support, all the industries in Japan would have died away long ago. Japan has a national Government. We, in India have no national Government. So, it will be a folly to try them in this country. If you are going to spend money and energy in introducing big industries in this country, they will share the fate of the Potteries of Chalakkudi. They will share the same fate as the Tatas. On the other hand, you have got a great scope for cottage industries, and we will do well to make what little we can out of these. Even if you can start a mill successfully, you will only be dragging people from the healthy rural areas to the over-crowded slums in industrial towns. Perhaps the best way to relieve the strain of unemployment in this country will be to improve agriculture. The money we have to spare must be spent in the development of irrigation, in the digging of wells and tanks and also in giving proper financial help to the ryots. If you neglect agriculture and play with industries, you will be doomed to disappointment, as you have been doomed before.

The Council rose for the day at 5—5 p. m.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON,

Secretary to the Council.

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